

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2031

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5326

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2942

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, NAC

SUBJ: NATO SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE

REF: A. STATE 120864 B. USNATO 2857

SUMMARY: THERE FOLLOWS, WITH OUR COMMENTS, THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE WHICH EMERGED FROM THE MAY 23 SPC MEETING. IT IS LITTLE CHANGED FROM THE PREVIOUS TEXT AND ONLY SLIGHTLY IMPROVED. SPC WILL TAKE ANOTHER CRACK AT TEXT MAY 26, WHEN WE PLAN TO PRESS FOR FURTHER IMPROVEMENTS. END SUMMMARY.

1. THE SPC MET FOR EIGHT HOURS ON THE COMMUNIQUE IN THE EVENING OF MAY 23. ALL REPS HAD INSTRUCTIONS, AND ALL AGREED TO WORK FROM THE NEW DRAFT (REF A). ALL ALSO THOUGHT IT A GOOD DRAFT-- EXCEPT FOR THE US, UK, AND FRG WHICH BELIEVED IT FELL SHORT OF THE COMPELLING STATEMENT THE SUMMIT SHOULD ISSUE.

2. INSTRUCTIONS OF ABOUT HALF THE SPC MEMBERS CALLED FOR CHANGES, BUT ALMOST NONE PROPOSED THE SAME CHANGES. ATTEMPTED AMENDMENTS, INCLUDING THOSE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO SOME, MET WITH BROAD OPPOSITION AND LITTLE SUPPORT. UPSHOT OF SESSION WAS SENSE AMONG SPC MEMBERS OF DISAPPOINTMENT THAT THEY HAD NOT FURTHER IMPROVED THE DRAFT, BUT RELIEF THAT THEY HAD STOPPED OTHERS FROM SPOILING IT.  
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3. POINTS OF INTEREST TO US WERE:

-- ALL BUT THE US WANTED TO CALL THE DRAFT A "COMMUNIQUE" AND NOT A "DECLARATION". IT IS NOW SO LABELED.

-- WE WERE NOT ABLE TO OBTAIN A REFERENCE TO "DISPUTES AMONG

MEMBERS". THE GREEK AND TURK REPS JOINED IN ADAMANTLY REFUSING TO MENTION "DISPUTES". A UK SUGGESTION TO DELETE THE REFERENCE IN PARA 2 TO RESTORING SOLIDARITY "WHERE IMPAIRED" MET WIDE SUPPORT, BUT WE WERE ABLE TO PRESERVE THIS PHRASE.

--ON CSCE, WE PRESSED THE FORMULATION IN THE ORIGINAL US DRAFT AND SOUGHT TO IDENTIFY "GREATER FREEDOM, SECURITY, ETC". AS THE OBJECTIVES TO BE SOUGHT IN TRANSLATING CSCE WORDS INTO DEEDS. THE FRG REP PROPOSED LISTING SEVERAL OBJECTIVES DRAWN DIRECTLY FROM CSCE LANGUAGE. ALL OTHERS OPPOSED SUCH CHANGES ON THE GROUNDS THAT ANY ADDITION WEAKENED THE THRUST, THAT ANY NON-INCLUSIVE LIST OF OBJECTIVES WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO SOME ALLIES, AND THAT THE COMMUNIQUE COULD NOT LIST ALL CSCE OBJECTIVES.

THE FRG REP HAD STIFF GUIDANCE NOT TO ACCEPT THE SENTENCE ON CSCE IN THE MAY 21 DRAFT (REF A). HE THOUGHT, HOWEVER, BONN WOULD ACCEPT THE LANGUAGE NOW IN PARA 5 OF THE DRAFT BELOW.

-- WE SAID THE REFERENCE TO MBFR SHOULD BE MORE EXPLICIT. THE FRENCH REP WAS STILL NOT CERTAIN HIS AUTHORITIES COULD ACCEPT THE PRESENT SENTENCE IN PARA 5. THE UK AND SEVERAL OTHER REPS SAID THEIR AUTHORITIES LIKED THE PRESENT SENTENCE, THOUGHT IT WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT ADVANCE TO GET A PASSAGE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL FIFTEEN, AND WANTED TO STICK WITH THE PRESENT WORDING IF PARIS COULD ACCEPT. WE AGREED AT THE REQUEST OF OTHERS TO WAIT AT LEAST UNTIL NEXT SPC MEETING TO SEE WHETHER THE FRENCH COULD ACCEPT PRESENT FORMULATION.

-- THE UK REP SAID HIS AUTHORITIES CONSIDERED THE TWO CONCLUDING PARAS VAGUE AND MEANINGLESS. HE PROPOSED MORE PROSAIC LANGUAGE WHICH WAS FIRMLY REJECTED BY THE DUTCH, FRENCH, AND BELGIAN REPS. FINDING NO SUPPORT, THE UK REP BRACKETED MOST OF THE CONCLUDING SENTENCES. WE ADVANCED LANGUAGE FROM THE DEPT'S DRAFT. AS IT NOW STANDS, PARA 7 LACKS A CONCLUDING SENTENCE. THE CANADIANS ALSO WANT TO REVERSE THE ORDER OF PARAS 6 AND 7.

-- AT FRG REQUEST, US, UK FRENCH, AND FRG SPC REPS MET SEPARATELY ON QUESTION OF BERLIN LANGUAGE IN COMMUNIQUE. THEY AGREED TO MEET AGAIN AFTER THE BONN GROUP DEVELOPS AGREED SENTENCE WHICH THEY ASSUMED THEIR AUTHORITIES WOULD WANT INCLUDED IN THE CONFIDENTIAL

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COMMUNIQUE.

4. WE WILL TRY AGAIN FOR IMPROVEMENTS, INCLUDING SPECIFIC REF TO MBFR, AT THE NEXT SPC MEETING ON MAY 26. ACTION REQUESTED: INSTRUCTIONS ON INCLUSION OF BERLIN LANGUAGE IN COMMUNIQUE AND ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENT THE DEPT WANTS TO PROVIDE ON PRESENT DRAFT TEXT.

BEGIN TEXT OF DRAFT COMMUNIQUE:

DRAFT COMMUNIQUE

1. THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MET IN BRUSSELS ON 29TH AND 30TH MAY, 1975 WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF HEADS OF STATE AND

GOVERNMENT.

2. AS A RESULT OF THEIR REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE OTTAWA DECLARATION ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS WAS SIGNED IN BRUSSELS LAST YEAR, THE ALLIED LEADERS ARE STENGTHENED IN THEIR RESOLVE TO PRESERVE THEIR SOLIDARITY AND RESTORE IT WHERE IMPAIRED. THEY REAFFIRM THAT THE ESSENTIAL PURPOSE OF THE ALLIANCE IS TO SAFEGUARD THE INDEPENDENCE AND SECURITY OF ITS MEMBERS AND TO MAKE POSSIBLE THE CREATION OF A LASTING STRUCTURE OF PEACE.

3. SERIOUS PROBLEMS CONFRONT THE ALLIES IN THE PURSUIT OF THIS PURPOSE. THE ARMED FORCES OF THE WARSAW PACT CONTINUE TO GROW IN STRENGTH BEYOND ANY APPARENT DEFENSIVE NEEDS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE MAINTENANCE OF THE ALLIED DEFENCE EFFORT AT A SATISFACTORY LEVEL ENCOUNTERS NEW DIFFICULTIES ARISING FROM THE WORLD-WIDE ECONOMIC SITUATION. THE ALLIES ARE RESOLVED TO FACE SUCH CHALLENGES TOGETHER AND WITH DETERMINATION.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 2942

LIMDIS

4. THE COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROVIDED BY THE ALLIANCE, ON THE BASIS OF A CREDIBLE CAPACITY TO DETER AND DEFEND, IS A STABLIZING FACTOR, BENEFICIAL TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AS A WHOLE, AND INDEED A CONDITION OF DETENTE AND PEACE. IN A TROUBLED WORLD SUBJECT TO RAPID TRANSFORMATION THE ALLIES REAFFIRM THAT THE SECURITY OF EACH IS OF VITAL CONCERN TO ALL. THEY OWE IT, NOT ONLY TO THEMSELVES BUT TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, TO STAND BY THE PRINCIPLES AND THE SPIRIT OF SOLIDARITY AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE WHICH BROUGHT THEM TOGETHER AS ALLIES. ACCORDINGLY THE ALLIES STRESS THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY, AND IN PARTICULAR ARTICLE 5 WHICH PROVIDES FOR COMMON DEFENCE.

5. THE SECURITY AFFORDED BY THE TREATY ENABLES THE ALLIES TO PURSUE POLICIES REFLECTING THEIR DESIRE THAT UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION SHOULD PREVAIL OVER CONFRONTATION.

AN ADVANCE ALONG THIS ROAD WOULD BE MADE IF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE WERE CONCLUDED ON SATISFACTORY TERMS AND ITS WORDS TRANSLATED INTO DEEDS. THEY HOPE THAT PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL PERMIT SUCH A CONCLUSION IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THE DEVELOPMENT OF UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION ALSO REQUIRES A REDUCTION IN THE MILITARY CONFRONTATION ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT IN A MANNER WHICH WILL ENHANCE STABILITY AND PRESERVE SECURITY FOR ALL.

6. THE PEOPLES OF THE ALLIANCE SHARE IN THE UNIVERSAL  
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ASPIRATION FOR JUSTICE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. IT IS THEIR DESIRE THAT THROUGH CONCERTED EFFORTS THERE SHOULD EMERGE AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER WHICH REFLECTS THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REALITIES OF OUR TIME. CONSCIOUS OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES, THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS STAND READY TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ON GLOBAL PROBLEMS INCLUDING THOSE OF POPULATION, FOOD, ENERGY, RAW-MATERIALS AND ENVIRONMENT. THE FUTURE WELL-BEING OF MANKIND DEPENDS ON SUCCESS IN THESE COMMON TASKS.

7. THE ALLIED LEADES MEETING IN COUNCIL EXPRESSED THEIR UNANIMOUS CONVICTION THAT THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM IS CLOSELY LINKED TO THE FUTURE OF THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE INHERITED THESE IDEALS.....  
END TEXT OF DRAFT COMMUNIQUE.

FOLLOWING IS PROPOSED UK LANGUAGE FOR FIRST TWO SENTENCES OF  
PARA 6:

6. BEGIN BRACKETS THE ALLIES BELIEVE THAT BY PROMOTING THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES BEGIN BRACKETS OR PRINCIPLES OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY END BRACKETS WHICH FORM THEIR COMMON HERITAGE THEY CAN MAKE AN ESSENTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO A GENERAL IMPROVEMENT OF INT'L RELATIONS IN THE WORLD. WHILE MAINTAINING THEIR EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THEIR OWN PEOPLES, THE ALLIES ARE CONSCIOUS OF THEIR OBLIGATIONS TO OTHERS. END BRACKETS

FOLLOWING IS UK LANGUAGE FOR PARA 7

7. BEGIN BRACKETS CONFIDENT IN THE BONDS BEGIN BRACKETS OR IN THE ENDURING NATURE OF THE ALLIANCE END BRACKETS WHICH UNITE BEGIN BRACKETS S END BRACKETS THEM, THE MEMBER NATIONS STAND READY TO WORK WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY IN THE BUILDING OF A NEW INT'L ORDER BASED ON JUSTICE AND CO-OPERATION IN WHICH THE FRUITS OF TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS CAN BE MADE AVAILABLE TO ALL. END BRACKETS  
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